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“Tito Time,” A Nation’s Idealized Past: Collective Memory and Cultural Nostalgia through the Memorialization of Charismatic Leaders

Abstract

We, as human beings, experience much of our lives through memory, reflecting on our individual pasts. As time passes and moments slip away, our entire experience is converted into a mental depiction of whatever went before “now”. So, too, are the memories of collectives, groups, cultures, and societies. These memories are malleable, imperfect, and incomplete, similar to individual memory. Through interaction, we socially construct the meaning of the past. Through this process, we form the basis of our identity.

This study explores a type of group memory titled “collective memory,” first proposed by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925, which explains the relationship between memory and identity. Cultural nostalgia, a widespread feeling of sadness when the present is compared to the past, utilizes collective memory to depict an intimate and emotional history. The association between collective memory and cultural nostalgia has been explored by evaluating “Yugo-Nostalgia,” one particular example of cultural nostalgia, which takes place in the former Yugoslavia. I argue that processes of nostalgia construction and remembrance are independent and propose a way of understanding evolving interpretations of the past.

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“Tito Time,” A Nation’s Idealized Past:
Collective Memory and Cultural Nostalgia through the Memorialization of Charismatic Leaders

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A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Sociology.

May 18, 2010

Jaye Cee Whitehead

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We, as human beings, experience much of our lives through memory, reflecting on our individual pasts. As time passes and moments slip away, our entire experience is converted into a mental depiction of whatever went before “now”. So, too, are the memories of collectives, groups, cultures, and societies. These memories are malleable, imperfect, and incomplete, similar to individual memory. Through interaction, we socially construct the meaning of the past. Through this process, we form the basis of our identity.

This study explores a type of group memory titled “collective memory,” first proposed by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925, which explains the relationship between memory and identity. Cultural nostalgia, a widespread feeling of sadness when the present is compared to the past, utilizes collective memory to depict an intimate and emotional history. The association between collective memory and cultural nostalgia has been explored by evaluating “Yugo-Nostalgia,” one particular example of cultural nostalgia, which takes place in the former Yugoslavia.

The Sociology of Collective Memory and Nostalgia

In the spring of 2009, during a semester spent studying abroad in York, England, I took advantage of a three week Easter break vacation period to see various sites around the European mainland. I chose to travel mainly in the Balkans, partially because of its interesting history and culture; I was especially a fan of the famous Balkan brass music that originated in this area. I focused on the areas of the former Yugoslavia to explore the history of the relatively unfamiliar former communist nation.

As I traveled, I met many friendly locals that opened themselves up to share their personal and cultural memories about contemporary politics, history, and legacies of the lost nation of Yugoslavia. Two conversations were particularly memorable: Ljilja, an elderly woman

that owned a hostel in downtown Belgrade, who told me of Yugoslavia's past; and Georgio, a Serbian truck driver, who told me about the present state of Serbia and surrounding nations. Ljilja, who grew up in Yugoslavia described to me the challenges of living in a small communist state: she only saw chocolate once a year on her birthday, her only childhood toy was a simple white doll, and she rarely saw her favorite food -- an orange. However, she said friends were friends, people were trusting and warm, and they enjoyed a happy life in Yugoslavia. Georgio, conversely, highlighted the difficulties of modern Serbia. Today, he said, beer and cigarettes are cheaper than daily necessities, such as food and water. Jobs are few and far between. Foreign aid is pocketed by corrupt government officials. Georgio told me he has been attempting to flee the country's harsh economic and social conditions since 2004. However, his applications for a visa and passport have been repeatedly denied because of Serbia's tense European relations and unforgiving domestic policies.

"In Tito-Time, people were happy. We did not live like this," Ljilja said as a tear rolled down her cheek in the dingy hostel kitchen, after an hour of reliving her childhood memories from Yugoslavia. She was truly taken by the memory of the former Yugoslavia, and namely its dictator, Josip Broz Tito. This is a sentiment that seems to be shared among many in this region.

Elsewhere in the region of the former Yugoslavia, I found evidence that the memory of Yugoslavia is alive and well in today's modern world, where Yugoslavia no longer exists. "Jugo" prefixes are attached to businesses, websites use ".jugo" in their web addresses, Tito portraits and statues pop up in every village or public square. I even visited "Yugo-Land", where one man in northern Serbia converted a patch of his backyard into a park where Yugoslavs can meet every year on May 22, Tito's birthday. The memory of Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito proves to be pervasive and relevant in a Tito-less and Yugoslav-less world.

Not only is it relevant, but as sociologists and journalists have documented in the past ten years, it has been an important organizational symbol and emotional figure in the lives of former Yugoslavs, young and old. A social phenomenon, termed “Yugo-Nostalgia” has surfaced, that describes a widespread yearning to return to Yugoslavia. Individuals still identify as being Yugoslav, still celebrate Yugoslav holidays and customs, and claim loyalty to a dictator that is no longer alive.

My experiences in the former Yugoslavia and what I have read about Yugo-Nostalgia have led me to question the nature of memory. How do such widely agreed upon emotional sentiments arise within a large population – such as the nostalgic sentiments of Yugo-Nostalgia – so long after the nation has fallen (1991)? Have the Balkan people always held Tito in such high regard, or has the memory of Tito changed since his death in 1980? Can we understand the need for remembering a defunct nation and a dead leader as a social process in other nations as well?

More broadly, this thesis will investigate the following questions about memory: How does group memory change over time? Can it be influenced by historical events, such as the Yugoslav Wars in the early 90’s? Is a nostalgic narrative embedded within a group memory, or are the processes of remembering and value attachment independent of each other? What types of memories becomes the subject of cultural nostalgia? And finally, are there noticeable cultural differences in how the past is constructed and valued?

I have completed a sociological investigation on the nature of group memory by evaluating the fictional appearances of Tito and other leaders in film. How filmmakers construct the memory of former leaders that represent another time tells us how memories are produced and carry on particular narratives inherited from the past, influenced in the present. The style, connotation, and specific representation of these leaders capture the process of cultures

attempting own their past. These interpretations of the past become integrated into culture and influences how we understand and value our present.

Because cultural memory is extremely broad, I have chosen to isolate the memory of a nation's leader. The memory of Tito is easily identified in cultural artifacts and provides a basis for cultural comparison. Using the definition of the Charismatic Leader by Max Weber, I have chosen to compare the portrayals of Tito with John F. Kennedy and Che Guevara, representing the United States and Cuba, respectively.

Josip Broz Tito (1892 - 1980) and Yugoslavia (1945 - 1991)

Tito's legacy has a long history, starting with the creation of the Yugoslav nation. During World War II, Tito led a guerilla resistance force that acted as the Balkan's main defense from the Germans after regional government leaders signed a non-aggression pact and fled. During this period, Tito simultaneously fought the Chetniks, a Serbian nationalist and anti-communist Chetnik movement, while successfully inspiring a mass communist movement that eventually lead to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Lampe 1996:195). Tito was democratically elected to be president of this new nation, as he was evidently seen as the "liberator" of this region. Because of the limited Soviet and Red Army support in World War II, Yugoslavia was able to proceed independently, with few official ties with the USSR.

Interestingly, Yugoslavia enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, despite its close proximity to the Eastern Bloc. Relations became tense when Tito rejected the proposition to form a shared communist bank with Stalin (Lampe 1996:260). Yugoslavia was then banished from the International Association of Socialist states and "Titoists" were purged from Soviet controlled areas. Tito and Yugoslavia led the Non-Aligned Movement, which included the nations of Egypt,

India, Indonesia, and Ghana. This group of nations provided aid to third-world nations, increasing Tito's diplomatic power in the global community. Further, Tito acted as a buffer between the United States and the USSR during the cold war.

The remainder of Tito's life was spent as the president of Yugoslavia until his death in 1980. Throughout this time, the Yugoslav population held a deep reverence for Tito. Massive celebrations occurred on his birthday, including an annual marathon featuring village representatives that would carry homemade customized batons from across the nation to Belgrade for Tito's birthday gift. The Tito Museum in Belgrade displays hundreds of these, collected over the years from notable Yugoslav figures, school children, and the average citizen of Yugoslavia. School children would perform synchronized field dances in packed stadiums to honor and thank Tito on his birthday as these batons were presented to him, one by one. Special citizens were honored by being selected to meet Tito in person; they were required to memorize a speech to present to him. A meeting with Comrade Tito was a highly coveted honor, as the Yugoslav people greatly respected their president.

Comrade Tito's death in 1980 brought about rapid changes to Yugoslavia, and eventually led to the independent nations of Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo. The counsel of presidents who inherited power chose to privatize social institutions in an attempt to escape mounting debt (Lampe 1996:320). One of the council members, Slobodan Milosevic, gained political power on a platform of extreme Serbian nationalism, which charged itself with realizing Serbia's manifest destiny of supreme control over the Balkans. As economic competition and a sense of threatened sovereignty reached each republic, talk of independence grew more common. Slovenia took the first step towards separating themselves from Milosevic's Yugoslavia in 1991, which resulted in a short four day

skirmish between the Slovenian militia and Yugoslavia's People's Army. Croatia followed in Slovenia's footsteps several months later, resulting in a three year struggle with Yugoslavia for independence. Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in 1992, which sparked an intense internal conflict between Bosniak Muslims and ethnic Serbs. Four years of fighting followed, along with a four year siege of Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital city and host of the 1984 Winter Olympics. An excruciating death toll of more than 100,000 casualties marked Europe's most destructive war since World War II.

A stunted Yugoslavia controlled by Milosevic, consisting of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo, existed until 2006. Serbia was bombed by NATO in 1999 to force peace in Kosovo, where ethnic Serbs fought ethnic Albanians, propagated by Milosevic. In 2001, Milosevic was arrested for crimes against humanity and put on trial by the International Crime Tribunal. Before a verdict could be reached, Milosevic died in prison in 2006. That year, Yugoslavia ceased to exist, marked by the separation of Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Most recently, Kosovo declared independence from Serbia in 2008, which is still being internationally contested.

Due to the Yugoslav Wars following the breakup of Yugoslavia, the importance of Tito's legacy has increased. The ethnic groups that fought during the Yugoslav Wars, who have a historical reputation of conflict, had previously been at peace for the duration of Yugoslavia. Many credit Tito's charisma and personality for creating a trusting relationship between the ethnicities; instead of Croats, Slovenes, Bosniaks, and Serbians, there were only Yugoslavs under Tito. However, after Yugoslavia fell, identities immediately changed and old narratives of conflict were immediately continued. "Yugoslavs" were no more, and old feuds were relived.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917 - 1963)

John F. Kennedy, 35th president of the United States, was a highly romanticized political figure in American culture during and following his death on November 22, 1963. He has been often referred to as one of the greatest presidents in the history of the United States. Recent events involving his family – his son John F. Kennedy Jr.’s death on July 16, 1999 and his brother, Edward Kennedy’s recent death on August 25, 2009, have recalled the history and legacy of the Kennedy family, which is greatly interwoven into American political history. How JFK was remembered may have been considerably impacted by events following his death that involve national politics: the Watergate scandal with President Nixon in the 1970’s and the Vietnam War, which significantly worsened after JFK’s death when President Johnson assumed office.

Nostalgic fantasies currently exist about fulfilling the unrealized potential of the Kennedy family. Kennedy has been chosen to be compared to Yugo-nostalgia because of his similarities to Tito: both involve a highly recognizable and symbolic figure that holds great significance in the histories of their respective nations, both leaders died while in office, and scandals and controversies immediately followed their deaths. Each of these similarities may prove to be significant for how leaders are memorialized and valued, leading to a sense of nostalgia.

Ernesto “Che” Guevara (1928 - 1967)

Born in Argentina in 1928 to the name Ernesto Guevara, “Che” is now one of the most iconic figures in the 21st century. The famous portrait detailing his shaggy hair, scraggly beard, and stern, distant stare while wearing a beret and leather jacket is piece of pop-culture history.

Printed on shirts, posters, hats, and bumper stickers, Guevara's face is widely sold and disseminated among western capitalist societies. The irony being that "Che" Guevara worked his entire life on ending capitalism through a global rebellion, starting in Cuba.

Guevara's history as a living revolutionary was perhaps short-lived, yet widely influential. Ernesto witnessed poverty across South America during his motorcycle trip throughout the continent in his youth, which he attributed to inherent side effects of capitalism. This inspired his dream of a united South America, free of the influences of capitalistic imperialism (Guillermoprieto 1995). Guevara aided Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution, which lasted from 1953-1959. Guevara played an important role in Cuba's post-revolution history as a global figure of Cuba's revolutionary, anti-capitalist cause being the most widely known figure from the Cuban revolution. Guevara wrote *Guerilla Warfare* in 1960, making him the foremost expert in revolutionary tactics. In 1965, Guevara led an attempted revolution in Congo with a group of Cuban soldiers. Congolese, South African, and CIA forces battled Guevara and monitored his transmissions, which lead to the ultimate failure of Guevara's efforts. In 1967, Guevara led another effort in Bolivia, which resulted in his death that year (Guillermoprieto, p. 83, 1995).

The symbol of Che has since become an icon for counterculture and anti-capitalist sentiment. The photograph was taken originally by Cuban photojournalist Alberto Diaz Gutierrez as Guevara was scanning the crowd of a memorial service in 1960 (BBC 2001). It was set aside until 1967, when it was lent to an Italian journalist and appeared in an article about Guevara's death. That year, Italian artist Jim Fitzpatrick stylized the photo in black white and red, the icon that we know of today. Immediately following, the image appeared everywhere, from shirts to posters as a symbol of revolution.

Cultural nostalgia for Guevara has not been widely documented, however it possible that it exists. The symbol of Che Guevara may represent an attempt to embrace the past. However, I believe Che's symbol to be devoid of the same kind of emotion that of Tito or JFK. With the image being so global, as it has become systematized by the capitalist machine, it will lack a tie to one subjective narrative. Instead, it will be mostly told by outsiders to be understood by outsiders. Though, despite the possibility of a lack of emotionality, memorializations of Che Guevara is an interesting comparison to those of Tito and JFK because of Guevara's iconic pop-culture status.

Literature Review

I have collected relevant sociological and related theories that aid in the explanation of cultural nostalgia as represented through emotional attachments to charismatic leaders. These theories revolve around three main topics: collective memory, the sociology of nostalgia, and symbolic representation. These points of theorization, as I have conceptualized them, are mutually dependent when explaining the phenomenon of cultural nostalgia. I will present them in this order below, contextualized with applied research in academic disciplines. I will conclude with a proposal of how my research will contribute to the current body of literature on this subject.

Collective Memory

The term "collective memory" does not allude to a mystic ability of psychic mind readers, but rather explains a very simple property of group-based memory. Memory is initially stored within the human mind, but is communicated with language to create social bonds and

create a better understanding of our pasts. A memory is what makes us a part of a group, as it allows a “collective” understanding of what we have all been through, an understanding that brings us closer together. Memories are socially constructed and negotiated between people and groups and contour our developing lives. Collective memories are not static depictions of the past; they are malleable and are subject to error, just as individual memories are (Hyman and Billings 1998). Collective memory is not just a historical record of the past, but a narrative that influences our identity and gives our lives daily meaning. This social process, broadcasted by the media of the 20th century, interprets and negotiates the pasts that give our lives meaning.

Halbwachs (1992), the sociologist to first use the term “collective memory,” outlines the basic premise of collective memory in his seminal works *On Collective Memory*, translated from the original, titled *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, written in 1925. How we use our understanding of the present day to reconstruct our past is Halbwachs' main concern in this book. As humans living in the present, we can never directly experience the past, so we are forced to reconstruct socially what has happened in our inherited history. As Halbwachs explains, collective memory is not a mythical notion of parapsychological connections: "while the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember" (1992: 25). There are as many collective memories in a society as there are groups; every business, family, military, and social class has a collective memory that has been socially constructed to explain their past. This process of remembering, although is deeply rooted in the past, has a strong impact on the course of future events, acting as a social force. This force, for example, can unify groups if enough collective memories are shared or divide them if they are not. Collective memories can change within a population to re-identify a group if traumatic events occur that changes the locus of power.

Halbwach's idea addresses the phenomenon of Yugo-nostalgia by revealing the social nature of the act of remembering. Yugoslavs are embracing the memory of Yugoslavia and Tito because it remains important to their individual identities. The depictions of Tito in the media are subject to interpretation, influenced by the current cultural milieu in this region. Films can act to unify collective memories, sharing a common interpretation of the past that has the power to unify a population. Filmmakers are only a part of the group, retelling the memory to engage in a meaningful discussion of their past that is still pertinent today.

In sociological research, collective memory remains sparsely utilized. Most modern literature acts as an overview of the historical development since Halbwachs' creation of the term. Very few meaningful contributions have been made to the development of theory or methodology of collective memory inquiry. Themes regarding collective memory found in sociological literature seem to revolve around the production and consumption of the collective symbol and remembering as a social process. Unlike Psychology or Cultural Studies, Sociology mostly approaches this topic not by describing the shaping of individual experience or cultural impact of memory, but how actions, events, and objects form a relationship with their consumer. This relationship creates social reality and greatly influences the course of future events.

One difficulty of collective memory studies, as illustrated by Olick (1999), is the multitude of terminologies that exists in describing a very similar phenomenon. "Collective memory," "cultural memory," "heritage," and "mythology" represent a related phenomenon, that of differing avenues a society can engage with the past, with each concept representing its own history and independent theoretical development. According to Olick, Sociology as a discipline is mistrusting of the term collective memory because it lacks distinction at first glance. However, Olick argues that collective memory should not be ignored. The expulsion of this idea would

prevent us from understanding how individual ideas become influenced by the memory of the group, and with more attention will become increasingly distinct. The practical applications of this term help reveal exactly what is meant by sociologists when they refer to “collective memory.”

West (2008) discusses collective memory in terms of how broad global forces can shape the construction of narratives. Many sociologists look at memory strictly within nation-states, instead of a global context, which West deems important for an expanded understanding of the group memory process. A case study was done on Australian backpackers that travel to Gallipoli in Turkey, a World War I site of national importance. This journey can be understood, as West puts it, as an international pilgrimage to a sacred site, which is shaped by national identity, tourism, and globalization. This results in Australian backpackers escaping established narratives and forming new narratives within the tourist context.

Collective memory studies done under the banner of psychology have yielded research linking collective memory and the intimate process of self-reflection and perception. Kuzmanic (2008) observed two things after interviewing 18 Bosniacs, Serbs, and Slovenians in Slovenia about the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Two revealing themes were noted. First, a generational gap was not found to be present in the recollections of events. Those who were not yet alive to experience these events had no major differences in recall or significance from those who directly experienced the events. Secondly, memories of the events have noticeable ethnic boundaries. Bosniacs, Serbs, and Slovenians each had a unique interpretation of the memory. This memory not only acts as a force to shape the development of their everyday lives, but also effects their identity and self-perception.

Fivush & Nelson (2004) expand on this idea by describing how influential culture is on

our self definition, even influencing how our autobiographical memory systems function. As we are socialized with cultural norms, we learn to view ourselves in accordance to popular constructions of “self” (e.g. Western societies view the self as autonomous and independent, rather than an interdependent part of a whole.) We encode only the episodes that contribute to this specific understanding of ourselves. Culture has the ability to shape our individual perceptions of not only how we see the world around us, but how we see ourselves.

The current state of literature on collective memory is erratic and inconsistent. There is not a definitive work made in recent years, and it seems to be a vein of thought often ignored by sociologists. Sociology explains the role of memory in group identification and the importance of collective memories in identity. The discipline of Psychology has interpreted Halbwachs’ theory to explain the psychosocial impact such collective memories have on the individual. However, these theories fall short of explaining the emotional attachment to a representation of the past, as is present in Yugo-Nostalgia. Literature on the sociology of nostalgia will address this gap.

The Sociology of Nostalgia

The word “nostalgia” describes “a positively toned evocation of a lived past in the context of some negative feeling toward present or impending circumstance” (Davis 1979:31). While this is an individual experience, its origins and implications are highly social. Major works in the sociology of nostalgia are largely ethnographic and provide relatively few theoretical explanations of the sources or consequences of widespread nostalgia. The two most influential major works that I have used to direct my approach are written by Fred Davis and Svetlana Boym, which I will summarize below.

Fred Davis, author of *Yearning for Yesterday: a Sociology of Nostalgia* (1979) offers one

of the few theoretical perspectives about nostalgia formation in societies with abrupt social change. Davis argues that rapid change makes a future difficult to predict, causing us to become concerned for our future selves. We then create an emotional bond with the past to foster a sense of historical continuity that carries us into the present and provides a coherent linear understanding of our lives. In this case, a societal event that affects individual identity makes individuals collectively look to the past for guidance in a time of uncertainty.

With a more descriptive rather than explanatory approach, Svetlana Boym (2008) details two tendencies of nostalgia in *The Future of Nostalgia*: reflective and restorative nostalgia. Reflective nostalgia is characterized by the emotional side of longing for the past: daydreams of a distant time, treasuring ruins and evidence of a distant culture (Boym 2008:49). Restorative nostalgia, alternatively, describes a much more pragmatic process of reconnecting fragmented memories to restore national ideals (Boym 2008:41). These individuals live through traditions of the past and are the foundation of nationalistic movements.

These two types of nostalgia are both present in the former Yugoslavia, and may run into conflict if met. Boym writes about a café in Ljubljana, the Nostalgia Snack Bar, that presents memorabilia from the past, including Beatles record albums, photographs of the Sputnik spacecraft, and Yugoslav-specific items, such as clippings of newspapers describing Tito's death. Ljubljana, Slovenia engages much more within the Western world than does the rest of the former Yugoslavia. They are able to deal with the past in an "American" way, reducing history into amusing souvenirs, devoid of politics. This form of reflective nostalgia is unacceptable to those engaged in restorative nostalgia:

The Nostalgia Snack Bar plays with the shared Yugoslav past that still presents a cultural taboo in many parts of the former Yugoslavia. Nationalist restorers of tradition find

unbearable precisely this casualness in dealing with symbolic politics, in mixing the political with the ordinary. (51)

This distinction raises a new question in a film analysis of Yugo-Nostalgia: does film portray reflective nostalgia or restorative nostalgia? The answer to this question may tell us something about the goals of the filmmakers engaging with nostalgic sentiments, as well as the role of film in restorative nostalgia.

One modern sociological study of nostalgia reveals the role of privatization in the nostalgia formation processes. Tim Strangleman (1999) notes how the privatization of Brittan's railway industry in 1993 radically changed the way the industry utilized the past. Until 1993, Brittan-owned railways exhibited evidence of nostophobia - the opposite of nostalgia; a feeling of wanting to escape the past. To avoid the reputation of past failures and inefficiency, the railway industry aligned itself with imagery and language of the future. Campaigning for privatization instead drew on the narratives the government rail industry tried to escape. Additionally, politicians who campaigned for privatization, such as Margret Thatcher constructed a nostalgic depiction of the past, describing a romanticized history of the railroad industry, featuring the origins of the railroad, when they were first privately owned and serving the needs of the super-rich. Strangleman shows us that nostalgic sentiments can be utilized to achieve a political goal. Yugo-Nostalgia, similar to the British railway industry, appeared after social services became privatized, although no clear political explanation for the nostalgia is readily evident.

Charismatic leaders have previously been the subject to research in the sociology of nostalgia. Compton et al (2004) examined nostalgic sentiments for JFK appearing in the media. By engaging with nostalgia for JFK, we are defining our ideal political system with the standards

perceived from the past, which we use to judge our modern leaders. Nostalgia also reflects an important critique of the system that directs our future. Compton et al describe the importance of media in nostalgia formation. Journalists channel the sentiments of the public and present them through writing with their own nostalgic biases.

Within the discipline of Psychology, Bellelli and Amatulli (1997) connected nostalgia with Halbwachs' theory of collective memory to note that shared memories are not merely factual memories, but are coated with interpretation, meaning, and value and are linked to social order. Nostalgia exists when something is desired from the past, but can only be reached by memory. Nostalgia is an emotion that represents social change and new social order, as exemplified by immigrants that feel unhappy when they compare the past to their present. Although, I believe this example can be generalized -- nostalgia can occur in any population that experiences a marked change in social environment and a stark division in social reality. In each of case of immigrant nostalgia, the collective memory of which the group prescribes have a marked impact on the personal psychologies of each individual in the group.

The sociology of nostalgia literature indicates that Yugo-Nostalgia is either an attempt to guide the course of future events, or a material fascination with the past. Restorative nostalgia, which is most likely to describe the documented social phenomena "Yugo-Nostalgia," has been theorized to have a positive relationship with the concern about future political and social developments. This will guide the evaluation of cultural artifacts by requiring the documentation of perceived historical coherency and agency among national development.

Symbolic Representation

Connecting the two previous bodies of literature to the important and practical

application of cultural dissemination and widespread social processes, I have defined the following works as thoughts on symbolic representation, describing the importance of symbols in conveying memory and emotion to a group. First, I will discuss Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, which describes the role of the symbol in large groups. Second, I will summarize Roland Barthes' contributions to this topic through his work *Mythologies*, which explains how symbols can become enveloped in emotional connotations.

Anderson (1991) complements Halbwachs with his *Imagined Communities*, originally published in 1983. In it, Anderson discusses the problems of maintaining communities larger than tribal societies. Nation states, for example, are so large that there is no way one person can know everyone within it or mentally place themselves within the physical community. Instead, the individual has to use symbols as clues to imagine the rest of the community. This process of socially constructing a collective is crucial to sharing a common interpretation of the past. Symbols used as narratives can be easily distributed to group and act as the web that holds them together.

Benedict's thoughts on imagined communities will help explain Yugo-nostalgia in terms of its unification and scale. Charismatic leaders can be propped up to a position of cultural symbol, where they transcend the identity of an average person and represent the identity of a large population. If charismatic leaders are to become symbolic figures, they can carry cultural narratives that unify populations and form an imagined sense of community. Tito, in this case, has become a symbolic figure that carries Yugoslavia's cultural narrative. Some former Yugoslavs (and especially Serbs) see Tito as synonymous with Yugoslavia -- during my conversations in April, many referred to living in Yugoslavia as living in "Tito-time." Benedict allows the connection to be made between this high symbolic status of a charismatic leader and a

pervasive and distributable shared notion of identity and community.

The symbols that come to unite an imagined community are susceptible to modifications made by those with the power to create culture. Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* (1957) mentions a specific power of the bourgeois class that includes adding a "secondary signifier" to a produced image. When images are viewed by the public, their initial signifier is the immediate surface-level understanding of whatever is represented. A further level of meaning exists in the connotation – the social significance – that image represents. For example, an advertisement of a glass of wine initially portrays a glass container of a red alcoholic beverage made from grapes. The connotation -- the "secondary signifier" -- is the general aura of sophistication and high class. This process can be directly applied to symbols that represent the past. In the case of Yugo-Nostalgia, films that depict Tito may contain a secondary signifier, an inherent bias of the medium, as it is controlled by the bourgeois class.

Collective symbols can be produced on a mass scale and convey strong ideas, but often are still ambiguously interpreted. Larson and Lizardo (2007) write, Che Guevara's symbol has become an expression for the disenfranchised and rebellious, but is ironically mass-produced and brings profit to the very system that Che Guevara worked to destroy. The only way that Che Guevara's image can be so present within a capitalist society is by draining the meaning and memory of the image, leaving just a face in popular culture. In this process, the true meaning of Che is lost and is replaced by a consumerist and material appreciation of his symbolic figure.

Symbols can also invoke narratives of the past. West (2008) observed after the 2002 Bali bombing, where Australian national football players were killed during a match, the image of the Australian sportsman was used as a collective symbol to signify national suffering. Indonesia also produced a counter-narrative of Australian tourists, likening them to World War I Anzac

(Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.) West notes that these symbols that were integrated into mass culture allowed social actors to connect and recreate narratives, relating to Anderson's ideas about the imagined past.

This body of literature describing the role of symbols in organizing groups and perceptions exists as the furthest developed of the three divisions I have outlined. The pursuit of an understanding of Yugo-Nostalgia will benefit from this literature in three ways: First, it explains the power each leader had in carrying cultural narratives and perpetuating a national identity, which will be documented and evaluated in the content analysis of this project. Secondly, it brings to fore the potential confounds that exist with analyzing films. Films are expensive projects, controlled by the upper class in society, who controls the substance and connotative elements of each film. Thirdly, this body of literature expresses the importance the images of film have on the individual's perceptions of the past. Symbolic representations can influence both what we know of our history and how we value it. Symbols in film can change how we understand our pasts and identify with particular groups. In understanding Yugo-Nostalgia, these caveats of theory are crucial to be able to connect memory theory, nostalgia theory, and widespread phenomenon.

Contribution to Literature

'Collective memory' is a scattered term in academia and appears differently in many disciplines. As a result, it has not been used to explicitly explain the construction and attachment of nostalgic sentiment to charismatic leaders. Both collective memory and the sociology of nostalgia lack substantial breakthroughs in recent years and are currently adrift among the growing body of information that exists within the discipline of sociology. My study will attempt

to renew these fields by providing a pragmatic usage of these terms, showing that they are relevant and applicable to explaining social life. Further, my study will tie these fragmented theories together, along with theories of symbolic representation, to fill a void that exists in explaining how the past is represented, valued, and disseminated within a culture.

Method

A content analysis of 18 films depicting three charismatic leaders was conducted to study the relationship between memory and nostalgia, as well as to explore the nature of group memory. A guided convenience sample was ultimately used to select films. The study was targeted towards generating and connecting theory.

Three charismatic leaders were chosen for this study of collective nostalgia: Che Guevara, John F Kennedy, and Josip Broz Tito, representing Cuba, the United States of America, and the former Yugoslavia, respectively. I have classified these leaders as symbolic figures that carry cultural narratives because of their iconic nature, their important relationship to national identity, and their reported ties to feelings of collective nostalgia. Each leader represents a very dissimilar culture and social structure, that of capitalism, socialism, and once-socialism-now-capitalism. These societies reflect different cultural values – individuality, group-orientation, personal autonomy, etc. Differences in culture and values such as these may provide differing reasons for nostalgia and mechanisms for remembering will be observed in the content analysis through of memorialized leaders.

This research design uses the logic, "filmmakers are the authors of nostalgia." Filmmakers have the freedom to interpret and craft the past, creating fictional realities that appear on screen. These fictional realities are constructed with emotional connotations,

influencing how the viewer feels about the characters and settings represented. Fictional films are the canvas on which filmmakers allow themselves to reinterpret the past, in which their memories and motivations are heavily influenced by the modern environmental context. These constructions are important to understand sociologically, because films have the ability to influence culture, including perceptions of the past. Additionally, films are important to the understanding of collective memory because films act as a type of “prosthetic memory,” enhancing our ability to remember the past far beyond our natural biological means.

Because film is a prevalent medium in each country represented within this study, it provides a suitable format for comparison. Films were chosen by their relevance to each charismatic leader. Theoretical and convenience sampling were employed to gather films: theoretical sampling was employed to select appropriate comparison cases to Tito (by using Weber’s definition of the Charismatic Leader), and convenience sampling was used to find films translated or natively in English that were available in the timeframe allotted for research. Preference was given to films based on their topical relevance and popularity shortly after the date of release.

A total of 18 films have been selected - 7 for Tito, 5 for JFK, and 6 for Guevara (see Appendix A for the sample in its entirety). In order to observe how memories of charismatic leaders change over time, films were selected based on a time span, reaching from the point of death to the date research was conducted. This allows us to see how the initial generation portrayed and remembered the leader in the media, compared to how the memory has changed years later. With this sample, it is possible to observe how these leaders have been remembered after initial generational proximity has faded and events have persuaded the way each leader is remembered and valued.

Central to the idea of studying collective nostalgia is reading the organic process of value-attachment that comes from years of comparing the collective memory to current events. The research instrument (as seen in Appendix B) has probing questions involving this process of value-attachment. Attention has also been paid to the context of the film under review, specifically the historical placement of its creation in relation to important historical events.

An open ended coding scheme was created to evaluate the content of each film uniformly while allowing specific and detailed information to describe portrayals of leaders within the films. Using a qualitative rather than quantitative methodology, I have evaluated the content of the film using a set open ended coding scheme (see Appendix B). The manner of the appearance or reference to the leader has been noted as well as the context, role, and value placed on the leader. Ties to national identity and cultural narratives have also been recorded. Following the analysis of film content, thorough background research has been completed to identify the historical context of the film -- when it was made, why it was made, who it was made by. Again, value-attachment, cultural narratives, and legacy have been noted as well as the historical context of the memorials creation and use.

The design achieves inter-item reliability (internal consistency) by measuring similar concepts, such as how the process of collective memory is tied to cultural variables, with a multitude of questions. The qualitative questions are both specific and varied so it would be possible to achieve similar results if research was conducted multiple times or by differing researchers. The research instrument achieves validity with its range and depth of questions. The coding scheme, although open-ended, is organized, thorough, and specific enough to account for reliability and validity concerns.

Data

The content analysis revealed a wealth of data describing memory processes, which will be discussed below. After a general overview involving basic trends of remembrances, I will discuss a more specific comparison between JFK and Tito, and a comparison of Che Guevara and Tito.

General Trend of Portrayals Over Time

By analyzing the general plot and appearances of each charismatic leader, several clearly recognizable patterns emerged, first in the most general sense: the type of narrative the film attempted to portray. These included themes of exaggeration and dramatization, questioning and controversy, and proud and patriotic. These trends were noted for three time periods relating to the amount of time after the leader's death. In each of these time periods, portrayals of the leaders had similar characteristics cross culturally. The films have been separated into each category, shown on the next page in Table 1.

Films produced immediately after the leader's death portray the leader in an exaggerated and extravagant way, highlighting only the most positive attributes of the leader. The leader is depicted to be a perfect example of a national: patriotic, brave, and loyal. The leader seems to carry cultural narratives on their back, advancing their nation single-handedly. In *PT 109* (1963), made the year of JFK's death, the story is told of Kennedy's role in World War II as a PT boat captain that was capsized by a Japanese destroyer. In this film, Kennedy used his political connections in Washington to become a Navy captain. Kennedy is depicted to be honor-driven, willing to do anything to serve and protect his country. JFK asks a fellow Navy seaman that

expresses hesitation to go to war: “Don’t you want to fight for what you believe in?” showing that not only does he internalize American ideals, but he cannot understand why someone would not want to fight to protect them. Similarly, *Tito and Me* (1983), humorously portrayed Tito as

Table 1

Division and characteristics of general trends of memorialization in film

	0-5 years after death	5-30 years after death	30+ years after death
Tito - 1980 (n = 7)	Tito and Me (1983);	When Father Was Away on Business (1985) Hey Babu Riba (1992); Before the Rain (1992); Pretty Village, Pretty Flame (1996); Go West (2005); Love (2005)	No films within Tito’s sample fit this time period
JFK - 1963 (n = 5)	PT 109 (1963)	Uncle Sam Magoo (1970); JFK (1991)	Thirteen Days (2000); An American Carol (2008)
Guevara - 1967 (n = 6)	No films within Guevara’s sample fit this time period	Faccia Di Spia (1975); Evita (1996)	The Motorcycle Diaries (2004); The Lost City (2005); Che: Part 1 (2008); Che: Part 2 (2008)
Type of portrayal	Exaggerated, over-blown	Questioning, controversial	Reminding, integrated

being the honored figure worthy of Yugoslav praise. Zoran, a 10 year old boy, wins a contest at school in 1954 and is given an opportunity to travel throughout the Yugoslav states to learn more about his idol, Tito. This film depicts Tito as being a figure worthy of a boy’s imagination and hope, despite Zoran’s parents being anti-communist. Ultimately, Zoran misses the chance to meet Tito; however, Tito continues to exist in Zoran’s mind as an honored and almost magical individual. Both of these films depict the charismatic leader in an exaggerated form, beyond the

distinction of being an honored political figure. Unfortunately, no fictional films about Che Guevara were available to study in this period.

A period of time after the leader's death, portrayals seem to change in a general sense. The lives and roles of leaders are no longer honored implicitly, but inspected and examined. *When Father Went Away On Business* (1985), 5 years after Tito's death, discussed how some families were torn apart in Yugoslavia because of Tito's political concentration camps. Tito did not appear in this film, but was mentioned several times as being the main creator and owner of these prisons, where political opponents were sentenced to menial labor for a period of time. This film told a tragic story of a family who loses their father because he is falsely accused of being anti-communist and is sentenced to work in a mine. The family visits the camp, which shows it to be a dark and dangerous place. The father is eventually released and they return to their normal lives. Tito is essentially to blame for their story, although in an indirect and systemic way. Similarly, *JFK* (1991), 28 years after JFK's death, examines the way in which JFK was killed. The controversy regarding Lee Harvey Oswald being the lone gunman in the assassination that killed JFK is reexamined, presenting evidence that contradicts such a claim. Statements about JFK in this film show JFK to be a controversial president in terms of challenging the status quo, as Kevin Costner's character states: "I didn't realize he represented such a threat to the standing order." Otherwise, Kennedy was described in an objective manner. The film focused not on glorifying JFK, but highlighting the fact that an American president was murdered without a proper legal investigation. This film attempted to reopen the case, in a sense, of JFK's assassination. This time period portrays a narrative of controversy regarding the leader's past.

I have classified *Uncle Sam Magoo* (1970), which also falls in this time period, as an

anomaly due to an unforeseen confound. I failed to realize the problem of comparing a children's movie with films made for full or partial adult audiences. Children's movies present an extremely simple and biased version of the past that specifically chose to leave out any controversial narratives.

A third and final section of time presents a different style of portrayals. Several decades after the leaders' deaths (30 years or more), the depiction of the leaders shed the controversial or questioning narratives and become seen as a metaphor for the nation itself. Michael Malone, an unpatriotic filmmaker (a parody of Michael Moore) is visited by JFK's spirit in *An American Carol* (2008). JFK represents the most qualified American figure to teach Michael Malone what it is to be American. His job is to help this filmmaker realize that being American is to support our troops, embrace American traditions, and believe in our government during wartime. *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004) depicts a young Che travel the South American continent on motorcycle before his transformation into the Marxist revolutionary symbol was complete. Just out of medical school and 23 years old, Ernesto witnesses inequality and encounters individuals living in poverty. On this life-changing trip, the future Che Guevara gains a perspective that will give root to the Marxist ideals in his future. The film portrays Ernesto Guevara as a gentle, likeable man that is a normal human being. The film shows us his faults: he makes rash and irresponsible decisions around women, he is a flirt, and he is willing to deceive strangers in order to continue his trip. This is a seemingly simple and subtle depiction of Guevara with few character judgments from the filmmakers. No mention of Cuba was made in this film, but many references to Guevara's roots to Argentina; wherever he traveled in South America, he carried the Argentinean identity with him, representing his home nation. Films in this category embrace the leader and project the leader's memory without much flaw or controversy. 2010 marks the

30th year after Tito's death; no films depicting Tito were analyzed from this period.

Characterizations of Tito

Two important themes were observed of Tito representations in relation to historical events that seem to have filtered or altered the memory of Tito. Films of Tito after Tito's death (1980) but before the start of the Yugoslav Wars (1991) are notably different than films of Tito made after the start of the Yugoslav Wars, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Depictions of Josip Broz Tito before and after the beginning of the Yugoslav Wars

	Film Themes	Tito's Role	Tito's Appearance	Tito's Meaning
Pre-Yugoslav War (before 1991) (n = 2)	Life in Yugoslavia, family	Important character to immediate plot of story	Portrayed by an actor or talked about at length	Source of stability or structure
Post-Yugoslav War (after 1991) (n = 5)	Unanimous: Yugoslav Wars, horrors of war	Related to one or several isolated characters, non- important to plot	Mostly appears in one scene through archival footage, may appear in a portrait or a brief conversation	Window of an outdated past no longer relevant to modern society

Pre-war films depict Tito in a much more meaningful way, when post-war films seem to include Tito only as an auxiliary object. *Tito and Me* (1983) and *When Father Was Away On Business* (1985) include Tito as a main character or a direct influence upon the main character,

having an important role to the plot of the movie.

Films created after the beginning of the Yugoslav wars include a depiction of Tito, but fail to utilize this memory for any serious role. Tito's appearance would only come in the form of a conversation about Yugoslavia. In *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame* (1996), references to Tito appeared in two scenes. First, a military captain who served in the Yugoslav People's Army represented the honor Tito followers in a time of chaos and selfishness, where Tito has been largely forgotten.

“I walked to Comrade Tito's funeral 350 kilometers on foot... He was a smart bastard, Comrade Tito. He lied a lot... but we all loved him. 350 kilometers on foot. I was younger then. That was just a stroll for me.”

Tito has been depicted in this film only through the words of this character. In this way, this character and Tito represent the same thing. The captain carries Tito's narrative, but with a much less significant impact. This character is seen to be out of place, a relic from the past that is outdated in modern warfare, which is, in a way, how Tito is being depicted as well.

Characterizations of JFK vs. Tito

The analysis of JFK seems to be much more revealing of collective memory than that of Tito because of three reasons. First, the cultural and language barrier between researcher and cultural artifact does not exist like in the films from Yugoslavia, filmed originally in the Serbo-Croatian language. I am able to place the JFK films within an understood political or historical context that tells me more about the motivations of that act of remembrance. Secondly, a more representative sample was available, depicting JFK over a longer time span through distanced years. This was not available for Tito films, partially due to their smaller film industry, which

produces fewer films, but also because of availability issues of foreign films. Finally, the JFK results are more substantial because a longer period of time has passed since JFK's death. 47 years of JFK remembrances are available to study, compared to 29 years since Tito's death. Naturally, we are going to be able to get a better idea of the trends of how JFK is depicted in film with a longer time to study.

That being said, the depictions of JFK are more frequent, substantial, and politically charged than the depictions of Tito. JFK seems more physically present in film, playing a larger role in the films' plots. 4 of 5 films have JFK as either the main character or a strong supporting character compared to Tito's 1 of 7. In these 4 films, JFK was aligned closely to overarching cultural narratives and national identity. Filmmakers achieved this by depicting JFK as a leader without imperfection engaged in protecting the United States from danger. 5 of 5 of JFK's films discuss his role in war, either in World War II or the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. In the most recent films, JFK has been characterized in very particular ways to defend politically conservative issues regarding the military. *An American Carol* (2008) mentioned previously, JFK is used to justify the war on terror. *JFK* (1991) directs viewers to question the motives of the government to the point of suggesting a wide governmental conspiracy. The memory of JFK seems to be used in a highly political way compared to Tito. However, as I am a foreigner to most modern Balkan politics, it would be difficult for me to say whether Tito's depictions were political in nature or not.

Characterizations of Guevara vs. Tito

The memorializations of Guevara through film were difficult to characterize due to several factors. First, Che Guevara is seen largely as an international symbol, rather than a

political individual representing cultural narratives. Che Guevara was born in Argentina, but is most widely known for his role in the Cuban revolution and his status as a global rebellion leader, with additional ties to Bolivia and Congo. All of these countries have small and short-reaching film industries that were not available to research in this study. The films immediately available for me to view were not made by one particular nationality, but, rather, a multitude. *Faccia Di Spia* (1975) is a thoroughly Italian film, written and directed by Italian Giuseppe Ferrara; *Evita* (1996) was written and directed by Brits Tim Rice and Alan Parker, respectively, and produced by the American Hollywood Pictures company; *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004) was directed by Brazilian director Walter Salles and produced by the British production company FilmFour; *The Lost City* (2005) was written by Cuban screenwriter Guillermo Cabrera Infante, directed by Cuban actor/director Andy Garcia, and produced by the American Crescent Drive Pictures; *Che: Part 1* and *Che: Part 2* were directed by American Steven Soderbergh, written by American Peter Buchman, and produced by the Spanish Estudios Picasso. This meshing of nationalities made it difficult to infer any specific cultural narrative or ideal revealed by the construction of this character. Guevara seems to be a global memory, perhaps infused within a capitalist (and thus anti-capitalist) narrative. The second difficulty to successfully and coherently analyze these films was due to the sample's clumped year spread. 4 of 6 of these films were created in the past decade, the other two being spread out between 1975 and 1996. Che Guevara has become a popular leader to remember recently, for reasons that are not outwardly apparent nor explained in this study.

The actual depictions of Guevara remain fairly benign and greatly resemble the famous photograph that made him a symbol. He is depicted in a seemingly truthful way, with compassion, ruthlessness, and dedication. His physical appearance in each movie seems to have

been inspired by the 1957 photograph, as at least one scene, if not every scene depicting Guevara, presented the character as an almost identical look-alike. There are no particularly obvious political messages in the portrayal of this leader. In *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004), Guevara is seen to be more compassionate due to his youth, but this film says little about what he is to become. *The Lost City* (2005), *Che: Part 1* and *Che: Part 2* shows him in a somewhat balanced light of a good person who may do bad things. Ultimately, it seems that the memory of Guevara is told in a neutral manner.

Analysis

Below, I will discuss the meaning and significance of themes derived from the data presented above. These themes will appear in the order: political usage of a leader's memory, trauma and memory, symbolic vs. emotional representation, value-attachment and memory construction, and the evolution of collective memory.

Political Usage of a Leader's Memory

One theme clearly evident in films representing JFK is the utilization of the leader to forward political or ideological agendas. While this theme is not as clearly present in either of the other leaders, I suspect elements of this facet of remembering remains in memorializations of Tito and Guevara as well.

In *An American Carol* (2008), JFK appears from the past to persuade Michael Malone of believe in the essential American activities of supporting the troops, standing behind political leaders in times of war, and celebrating common American traditions. These are behaviors commonly associated with the American conservative right political parties, especially visible in

contrast to Michael Moore's liberal "America-hating" documentaries. JFK poses as a liberal who justifies conservative politics to a fellow liberal. The shared memory of JFK was contorted and utilized to forward a conservative agenda.

Similarly, in *JFK* (1991) filmmakers ask questions about the evidence surrounding JFK's assassination. The plot follows a detective who unravels a larger story of government cover-up, suggesting that government agents organized the murder. The film leads viewers to be suspicious of government agencies, perhaps leading to perceptions of mistrust. This reflects a conservative ideology of general mistrust of large governments. JFK's narrative is used, again, to defend and develop a political belief.

These two cases support evidence of Strangleman's (1999) observation of how particular narratives are selected to support a political agenda, such as in Britain's railroad privatization campaign in the 1980's and early 90's. The memory of JFK was twice clearly utilized to support a political ideology, perhaps to achieve a particular political goal. Roland Barthes' (1957) definition of secondary signifiers explains how naturally these political connotations arise. Because filmmakers are the creators of culture, they have the freedom to input their individual beliefs and values into the symbolic representations of the past. Memories that are projected through media are always at risk of being filtered by the people who create them, as seen in these two films. This may reflect why collective memories survive over time: because they provide a specific purpose for our modern lives. These memories are goal-oriented, which may be the mechanism that keeps memories alive.

These two cases are easily recognizable because of my familiarity with modern political agendas in the United States. I am, however, unfamiliar with modern politics in the former Yugoslavia and South America, and would not be able to identify political usage of leaders.

However, I believe that the portrayals of Tito are still utilized for political purposes, however limited his appearances may be.

Trauma and Memory

The sudden lack of Tito representations in films parallel to the violent war crimes and shocking political developments of the early 90's reflect a deeper principle, often evidenced in psychological research. Collective trauma can be seen as an aggregated copy of psychological trauma – a “psychic injury caused by emotional shock the memory of which is repressed and remains unhealed” (Olick 1999:343). Following a traumatic event that causes this kind of psychological reaction to many in the society will have its ramifications in what the culture chooses to remember. Studies have noted the cultural difficulty with accepting a controversial past, such as the denials of war crimes (Obradovic-Wochnik 2009). The discussion of these events in the media reflects a society attempting to come to terms with its own past.

This seems to be what is happening with the appearances of Tito in Balkan film. Tito appears only as an aside, while the containing narrative revolves around the violence in the Yugoslav War. This historical event is receiving the most attention from the cultural production industry as it attempts to understand its own history. In this way, the historical event acts as a filter that prevents a coherent recall, such as a clear portrayal of Tito.

Symbolic vs. Emotional Representation

Two styles of representation have been noted among the depictions of Tito, JFK, and Guevara regarding an emotional component that may reflect nostalgic sentiment. Tito and JFK are similarly reacted to with emotional responses from characters in the film, while Guevara is

largely devoid of any sort of emotional reaction. This, I believe, is due to the ambiguous and specific cultural narratives represented by each leader.

Tito and JFK are depicted similarly when a substantial portrayal is made. Characters surrounding the leader are affected emotionally to the news of the leader's demise. In *JFK* (1991), news of JFK's death brings one character to tears: "I miss him. [Sobbing.] He was a fine man, a fine man." In *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame* (1995), characters responded similarly to news of Tito's death, one crying after listening to a radio bulletin: "Woman: How will we live without our Comrade Tito? [Sobbing.] Man: I don't know..." Both of these leaders brought characters to tears in the fictional worlds created by filmmakers. This is what I have termed "emotional representation."

The opposite of emotional representation, I have termed "symbolic representation." This describes the portrayal of leaders that completely lacks an emotional environment. Che Guevara was largely portrayed in this way. His depictions were mostly neutral, value-free representations of what he may have "really been like." These films focus mostly on telling a historical truth, rather than making a connection between an audience and a leader. Because Che Guevara's symbol is so internationally relevant, it would be impossible for a filmmaker to make their entire audience feel emotionally attached to Guevara. A cultural narrative is not emotionally hoisted upon the audience. Instead, a retelling of Guevara purely as a symbol is achieved, as evidenced by the material reconstruction of Guevara's famous photograph in film.

I believe that Che Guevara's portrayals are less political and more seemingly objective than the other two leaders is due to the global status of his symbol. Guevara is no longer tied to the cultural narrative of one nation; it has become involved in the narratives of an economic system that affects many. Guevara represents a counterculture that resents capitalism, and thus is

reproduced in tangent with that system. The films act as reminders of this leader, an individual people wish to learn about, but whose message is to destroy the very system that is carrying his face. In this way, films about Guevara have brought to life the iconic image of the rebel Che wearing a beret, and given him the ability to speak. This life and these words, however, are being controlled by capitalists who live the type of lives Guevara fought to destroy. This conflict of interest is the reason why Guevara's memorializations are so benign and neutral.

Guevara's symbolic status prevents filmmakers from attaching an emotional environment to his memory, which will inhibit how the memory is received emotionally. Tito and JFK are constructed as emotional characters, influencing how the audience feels about the past. This may be evidence of a mechanism filmmakers use to construct the beginnings of nostalgic sentiment, or perhaps a reflection of the audience's emotional viewpoint. However, I do not believe this reflects a purely nostalgic collective memory, as I will illustrate below.

Value-attachment vs. Memory Construction

A problem exists in the understanding of Yugo-Nostalgia and collective memory, based on the data I have presented above. Substantial appearances of Tito are exceptionally scarce after the fall of Yugoslavia, the period that has given rise to the exact phenomenon in question. If widespread nostalgia exists for Tito, why are the depictions of this leader not more expansive, frequent, significant, or reflective of collective nostalgia?

The first answer to this question exists in what can be deductively reasoned from the portrayals of Tito that are present and those that are not. The memory of Tito still exists in film since the fall of Yugoslavia, however scarce it is. The filmmakers are able to engage in the act of remembrance and find enough reason to do so in their films. These acts of remembrances,

however, lack significant substance. In a way, the representations of Tito exist only in face-value; they present no substantial meaning or emotion. This is clear evidence that the process of engaging and perpetuating a collective memory is independent of the process of value-attachment that leads to a widespread nostalgic experience.

Filmmakers have engaged in the act of remembering the past and recreating a collective memory in their film. They have failed to engage in the act of value-attachment that contributes to nostalgia. In other words, Tito exists in the former Yugoslavian film industry, but Yugo-Nostalgia does not. There is an external force at work influencing how this population sees the past in terms of sociohistorical continuity, as Davis (1979) described. Perhaps the film-producing bourgeois class perceives enough autonomy from national politics to escape a feeling of anxiety when the future is in question. Additionally, this may be evidence of one kind of nostalgia – reflective nostalgia. Perhaps filmmaker's are only concerned with the past in terms of a offhand curiosity or admiration, avoiding any real desire to return to the ways of Yugoslavia. This is speculation, however, as this issue lies outside the reach of this project. What is important to establish is the separation of the act of remembering and the act of value-attachment.

Evolution of a Collective Memory

Collective memories are not static; they do not stay the same over time. A clear pattern of progression can be observed, detailing the life of a collective memory. Three stages of general patterns of portrayal have been observed among periods of time from the leader's death, as seen in Table 3: a period of initial honoring, a period of historical reevaluation, and a reminder of group history.

Table 3*Stages of collective memory portrayal*

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3:
Title	Exaggeration	Historical Reevaluation	Integration
Description	Exaggerates or dramatizes life and role in country's history	Asks questions about leader's past, uncovers controversy	Memory of leader is fully assimilated into cultural narrative
Time	0-5 years after death	5-30 years after death	30+ years after death
Example	<i>PT 109</i> (1963), <i>Tito and Me</i> (1983)	<i>JFK</i> (1991),	<i>An American Carol</i> (2008)

This shift in how memories are portrayed uncovers a natural flow of the development and lifespan of a collective memory. When an event occurs, group members are forced to evaluate the extent of their loss. When shock fades, group members begin to reconsider and reevaluate the true meaning of that leader's role in their lives. As time passes, group members are forced to retell this memory to younger group members, depicting a story of "us," shedding doubts established in the stage previous. All memories across cultures should pass through this development, as it is bound to our biological lifespan.

Conclusion

This study has generated theory to assess the nature of group memory and collective nostalgia by evaluating the appearances of charismatic leaders in films produced after their deaths. Below, I review the generated theory, discuss the original contribution to literature, and propose further studies.

Memories change over time in relation to three factors: politically motivated usage,

historical events that act as lenses which alter the perceived past, and the life development of the original witnesses. The political and social environment of a given time will influence how and why an event or object is remembered. As documented in this study, JFK was often remembered to support differing politically conservative causes. These biased constructions likely aggregate over time and will influence perceptions of the memory source. Historical events that occur in the present influence the way we perceive the past. The Yugoslav Wars caused a great deal of violence and destruction, altering identities that tore friends apart. The fall of Yugoslavia likely influenced the way former Yugoslavs favored Tito, who could be credited for keeping peace in the region for many decades. This event retrospectively altered how people thought about the past. The life development of the witnessing generation influences what kinds of narratives are important to tell in relation to the youngest witness's lifespan. After an event occurs, group members will react short-sighted and severely, as they are in a form of initial shock. As time passes and they regain a sociohistorical perspective, they will begin to reevaluate their history. Finally, as the original witnessing generation gets older, they are forced to hand down the memory to the younger generation if it is still relevant to their identity.

Although Tito, a symbol of Yugo-Nostalgia, has been found in film, evidence for the widespread nostalgia has not. This suggests that the processes of remembering and the processes of constructing a nostalgic narrative are likely independent of each other. Tito and JFK are both subjects of emotional representation and thus are depicted with some degree of emotionality. However, this emotion is most likely a reflection of the film's intended audience, rather than a genuine emotional process. The process of value-attachment, the point in which collective memories are emotionally valued, must originate from another source, such as interpersonal tradition performance.

The depictions of Che Guevara have shown us that emotional representation is a requirement of symbolic leaders to become subjects of collective nostalgia. Emotional representation is preceded by a distinct tie to a subjective cultural narrative. If a symbol does not represent a subjective cultural narrative that produces an intimate sense of identity, the symbol will be seen as neutral and objective, thus warranting no emotional attachments made by a group.

There were no immediate differences between the ways different cultures remembered their leader, although Che Guevara's status as a global symbol greatly influenced how his images were recalled. Guevara was recalled objectively, without emotion, and more increasingly over recent years as his symbol has become "trendy." Films depicting Guevara show no signs of either nostalgic reflection or nostalgic contribution.

Yugo-Nostalgia can now be viewed in a new light. In response to the question "how can we understand Yugo-Nostalgia as a social process," we are able to provide a more insightful response. Yugo-Nostalgia is an attempt to share a particular understanding of the past. As it is thirty years from the date of Tito's death, the memory of Tito should just be emerging from the "controversy" portrayal stage. If Tito's memory proves to be an important symbol in today's world outside of radicals, the image will soon be fully embraced and retold separate from Yugoslav War narratives. However, Tito would have to be relevant to the identity of filmmakers as well; members of an upper echelon class who may not feel convinced they should retain lessons from a pre-capitalist history. Time will reveal if Tito remains a relevant source of identity in the Balkan region.

This study has contributed to literature by connecting, producing, and advancing theory and understanding of collective memory. I have devised an original methodology to investigate collective memory and cultural nostalgia. Using this methodology, I have outlined exactly how

collective memories change over time, its relationship to large historical events, and what types of memories are able to become subjects of cultural nostalgia. Perhaps most importantly, I have discovered that the processes of remembering and nostalgia formation are independent.

Future research should be an ethnographic study, placed within the former Yugoslavia, focused on specific mechanisms of interpersonal value-attachment to group memory, which forms cultural nostalgia. Research would have to include events such as Yugoslav holiday celebrations and Tito's annual birthday celebration at Yugo-Land in northern Serbia. Research should attempt to reveal how common values can arise separately from collective memory internalization. If a further study is done to evaluate collective nostalgia in the media, a comparison of different mediums should be made to compare the film industry's biases with other forms of communication. A wider sample of films depicting more leaders throughout a longer time-span should be considered.

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Appendix A

Sampling frame

Tito (n=7)	JFK (n=5)	Che Guevara (n=6)
<i>Tito And Me</i> (1983)	<i>PT 109</i> (1963)	<i>Faccia Di Spia</i> (1975)
<i>When Father Was Away on</i>	<i>Uncle Sam Magoo</i> (1970)	<i>Evita</i> (1996)
<i>Business</i> (1985)	<i>JFK</i> (1991)	<i>The Motorcycle Diaries</i>
<i>Hey Babu Riba</i> (1992)	<i>Thirteen Days</i> (2000)	(2004)
<i>Before The Rain</i> (1992)	<i>An American Carol</i> (2008)	<i>The Lost City</i> (2005)
<i>Pretty Village, Pretty Flame</i>		<i>Che: Part 1</i> (2008)
(1996)		<i>Che Part 2</i> (2008)
<i>Go West</i> (2005)		
<i>Love</i> (2005)		

Appendix B

Charismatic leader as a symbolic figure representing cultural narratives:

1. Was the charismatic leader
 - A. visually portrayed in the film by an actor
 - B. directly mentioned in the film with dialogue or narrative
2. If A, describe the leader's physical appearance and manner of appearances
3. If B, what was the dialogue? What was the situational context of the reference?
4. What role did the charismatic leader play in the film?
5. How was the leader portrayed in the film?
6. What relationship did the leader have with the plot and other characters?
7. How did the leader represent national identity?
8. Describe the interaction between the leader and the public
9. What kind of justification did the film give to the position and degree of power of the leader?
10. How did the leader portray charisma?
11. What does the film say about the leader's legacy?
12. How is the leader tied to cultural narratives?

Relationship between content and historical context:

13. When was this movie produced in terms of the leader's life and career?
14. Who was this movie produced by? What is their connection to the leader?
15. What is the significance of this film in terms of popularity and economic prosperity?